

Message Text

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ORIGIN SP-02

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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FROM VELIOTES TO LAKE ONLY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) EAID, PFOR

SUBJECT:SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE

1. FOLLOWING IS A FIRST CUT OF THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY
BEFORE THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, SCHEDULED
FOR FEBRUARY 24. THE DRAFT WAS PREPARED BY S/P, AID,
T, EB, AND .M. JANEWAY WORKED ON THE INTRODUCTION
AND WILL PUT MORE TIME IN LATER. THE PAPER HAS BEEN
DISCUSSED WITH H, AND SHOWN TO D AND M. DEPARTMENT
PRINCIPALS AND OTHER AGENCIES HAVE NOT YET REVIEWED
THE PAPER.

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2. WE RECOGNIZE THAT MUCH ADDITIONAL WORK IS REQUIRED
AND WILL HAVE A SECOND VERSION READY WHEN YOU RETURN,
HOPEFULLY INCORPORATING VIEWS OF GILLIGAN, COOPER,
BENSON, ETC. MEANWHILE, YOUR QUICK REACTION WOULD BE
EXTREMELY USEFUL.

BEGIN TEXT

3. MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

4. IT IS MY PLEASURE TO TESTIFY TODAY ON BEHALF OF

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ON OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

PROGRAMS. I HOPE THAT THIS OCCASION MARKS THE START

OF A FRUITFUL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

AND THIS COMMITTEE ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES. I LOOK

FORWARD TO EXCHANGING VIEWS AND HEARING YOUR THOUGHTS

ABOUT HOW TO MAKE OUR PROGRAMS RESPONSIVE TO OUR

NATIONAL INTERESTS.

5. THIS MORNING I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU A BRIEF

OVERVIEW OF OUR ENTIRE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE EFFORT --

BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE,

SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

6. LOOKING AT THE WORLD WE LIVE IN TODAY, I AM STRUCK

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BY THE CHANGES IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE POLICY MAKING

THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE RELATIVELY BRIEF PERIOD

SINCE I LAST HELD PUBLIC OFFICE.

-- AS I NOTED IN MY CONFIRMATION HEARINGS, ECONOMIC

ISSUES HAVE COME TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART

IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS GENERALLY, AND IN DETERMINING

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN PARTICULAR.

-- IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT OVER THE SPACE OF A

RELATIVELY FEW YEARS, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED

DEMOCRACIES AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- THE NORTH-

SOUTH DIALOGUE -- HAVE MOVED FROM THE PERIPHERY TO THE
CENTER OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS.

-- BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THE SIZE OF OUR ASSISTANCE
EFFORT HAS BEEN DROPPING. AS YOU KNOW, IN THE 1960S,
THE UNITED STATES WAS THE ACKNOWLEDGED LEADER IN
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. IN 1965 WE SPENT 2.9
PERCENT OF OUR BUDGET, AND .5 PERCENT OF OUR GNP
ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE(ODA). IN 1975 WE SPENT 1.1
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PERCENT AND .25 PERCENT, RESPECTIVELY.

7. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE HAS
EVOLVED IN HUMAN AS WELL AS ECONOMIC TERMS -- SPECIFICALLY,
IN TERMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ARE WORKING TO FULFILL
BOTH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF CURRENT LEGISLATION
RELATING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.
I CONCUR WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH THE VIEW EXPRESSED IN A
REPORT BY THIS COMMITTEE LAST SUMMER THAT "SHOULD WE
PROFANE OUR IDEALS IN THE INTEREST OF SHORT TERM
SECURITY, WE WOULD CAUSE THE EROSION OF OUR GREATEST
STRENGTH -- THAT OF A NATION GUIDED BY THE DICTATES
OF REASON AND MORAL PRINCIPLES." AND I AGREE ALSO WITH
THE SENTIMENT EXPRESSED IN THAT REPORT THAT WE CAN BEST
ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSE THROUGH CONSCIENTIOUS AND SYSTEMATIC
REVIEW OF ASSISTANCE ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS.
LET ME ADD THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN A REVIEW OF OUR

POLICIES WITH THE INTENTION OF FURTHERING THE COURSE OF
HUMAN RIGHTS IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE, CONSISTENT WITH OUR
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SECURITY INTERESTS AND COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

8. IT IS THE FIRM BELIEF OF THIS ADMINISTRATION THAT
OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FURTHER BOTH FOREIGN
AND DOMESTIC OBJECTIVES.

-- THEY EXPRESS AMERICA'S COMPASSION FOR THE POOR,
EXPOSED TO DAILY SUFFERING AND STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE.

-- THEY CONTRIBUTE OUR FAIR SHARE TO GLOBAL
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AN INVESTMENT WHICH, IN THIS
INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, PAYS DIVIDENDS TO US AS WELL.

-- THEY HELP CREATE A CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC STABILITY
AND THUS LESSEN DANGEROUS POLITICAL TENSIONS.

-- THEY ENABLE US TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE EVOLUTION
OF A WORLD ORDER BASED ON AN OPEN ECONOMIC SYSTEM,
AND ON A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WHICH ACKNOWLEDGES
APPROPRIATE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS FOR ALL NATIONS.

9. I NEED NOT TELL THIS COMMITTEE THAT AMERICAN INTERESTS
IN THE THIRD WORLD ARE SENSITIVE, CHANGING, AND COMPLEX.
IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS (BLANK) FORMER COLONIES HAVE

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BECOME INDEPENDENT NATIONS. TODAY OUR RELATIONS WITH

THESE COUNTRIES TURN ON NEARLY ALL OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS
AND CHALLENGES WE FACE -- TERRORISM, PROLIFERATION,
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, FOOD AND MINERAL AVAILABILITY,
ENERGY PRODUCTION, AN OPEN MULTILATERAL TRADING FRAMEWORK,
AND A STABLE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE. ONLY IF THE INDUS-
TRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
ACHIEVE A MORE COOPERATIVE WORLD ORDER CAN THESE PROBLEMS
BE RESOLVED AND THE CHALLENGES MET. BUT IF WE FAIL TO
ACHIEVE THIS COOPERATION THE PROGNOSIS FOR PROGRESS
TOWARD SUCH A WORLD ORDER IS BLEAK.

10. IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD
IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN IN PAST YEARS. INDEED, THE
LESSONS OF THE 1950S AND 60S WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

-- WE KNOW WE CANNOT BUY FRIENDS; AND WE SHALL NOT
TRY;

-- WE KNOW THAT AMERICAN ASSISTANCE, NO MATTER WHAT
THE AMOUNTS, CANNOT BY ITSELF PRODUCE DEVELOPMENT.

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OUR CURRENT PROGRAMS ARE DESIGNED TO HELP THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES MOBILIZE THEIR OWN RESOURCES. MOREOVER, THEY
MUST BE SEEN AS A LARGER SHARED DEVELOPMENT EFFORT BY
THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES IN WHICH EACH DEVELOPED
NATION DOES ITS PART.

-- WE KNOW THAT THE DEVELOPING WORLD EXISTS ON NOT
JUST ONE BUT SEVERAL LEVELS. THERE ARE LOW INCOME

NATIONS, STRUGGLING FOR SUBSISTENCE; MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRIES WHICH ARE SEMI-INDUSTRIALIZED; AND A CATEGORY OF COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION BETWEEN THESE STAGES. WE NEED A WIDE RANGE OF POLICIES TO MEET THE DIVERSE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS IN THESE VARYING STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT. CONCESSIONAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS BUT ONE POLICY AND APPROPRIATE ONLY FOR THOSE NATIONS UNABLE TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

-- WE KNOW THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS CARRY WITH THEM POTENTIAL FOR SECURITY BUT ALSO FOR DANGER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND MISUSE. ACCORDINGLY, THE BURDEN IS ON US TO WEIGH MILITARY ASSISTANCE WITH PRUDENCE, ALWAYS MINDFUL THAT ARMS ARE MEANS, NOT ENDS, OF FOREIGN POLICY.

-- AND WE KNOW THAT WE CAN NO LONGER SEPARATE ECONOMICS FROM POLITICS OR SECURITY ISSUES. DURING THE COLD WAR OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE POLICIES WERE IN LARGE PART THE BY-PRODUCT OF OUR INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. TODAY, BY CONTRAST, THE STRONGEST POLITICAL FORCE IN THE THIRD WORLD IS THE DESIRE FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT. IN PURSUING DEVELOPMENT, THEN, WE SERVE THE ENTIRE ARRAY OF OUR POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS AS WELL.

11. THIS COMMITTEE HAS BEFORE IT A TOTAL REQUEST OF DOLS (BLANK) FOR THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY PROGRAMS WE

PROPOSE FOR THE DEVELOPING WORLD IN FISCAL 1978. EACH
OF THE PROGRAMS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE PARTICULAR PART
IT PLAYS IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS. THE ROSTER INCLUDES
THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND SECURITY SUPPORTING
ASSISTANCE MANAGED BY A.I.D., OUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO
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INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE UN AGENCIES,
THE PEACE CORPS, REFUGEE AND MIGRATION ASSISTANCE,
MILITARY ASSISTANCE GRANTS AND TRAINING AND MILITARY
CREDIT SALES. THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM UNDER PUBLIC
LAW 480 WHICH IS JOINTLY MANAGED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURE AND A.I.D. IS THE ONLY MAJOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
PROGRAM NOT UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THIS COMMITTEE.
THE ADMINISTRATION IS PROPOSING A DOLS (BLANK) MILLION
PROGRAM IN FOOD AID FOR WHICH NOT MORE THAN DOLS (BLANK)
MILLION IN BUDGET AUTHORITY WILL BE REQUIRED.

12. LET ME NOW TURN TO THE INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS.

13. BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

14. FIRST, OUR BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE
PROGRAM. THIS, AS YOU KNOW, IS THE CLEAREST AND MOST
DISTINCTIVE EXPRESSION OF AMERICAN CONCERN FOR HUMAN
PROBLEMS ASSISTANCE AND FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

15. THE FY 1978 PROGRAM FOR BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT CALLS
FOR NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY OF DOLS 1,346 MILLION. THE
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CONGRESS HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN SHAPING THE
DIRECTIONS OF THIS PROGRAM TOWARD BASIC HUMAN PROBLEMS
IN THE POOR COUNTRIES INCLUDING: FOOD PRODUCTION AND
NUTRITION, POPULATION GROWTH AND BASIC HEALTH SERVICES,
EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

15. IN FY 1978, OVER THREE-FOURTHS OF OUR BILATERAL
ASSISTANCE FUNDS WILL BE ALLOCATED DIRECTLY TO
COUNTRIES WITH PER CAPITA INCOMES OF DOLS 300 OR LESS.
IN ADDITION, THE FIRST US COMMITMENT OF DOLS 50 MILLION
FOR A MAJOR MULTI-YEAR MULTILATERAL EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF
LONGER-RUN DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN SAHELIAN REGION
WILL BE MADE. OTHER APPROPRIATIONS WILL FUND DOLS 45
MILLION FOR INTERNATIONAL DISASTER EMERGENCIES, DOLS 8
MILLION FOR AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS ABROAD,
DOLS 242 MILLION FOR PERSONNEL AND OPERATING COSTS FOR
ALL A.I.D. PROGRAMS AND DOLS 5 MILLION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE CONTINGENCY FUND.

16. OUR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM APPLIES A BROAD

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RANGE OF US SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL SKILLS AND PRO-
VIDES GREATER SCOPE FOR ENGAGING US UNIVERSITIES
AND PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT
PROCESS.

17. SUBSTANTIAL AND SUSTAINED INCREASES IN DEVELOPMENT

ASSISTANCE LEVELS ARE NECESSARY TO ADDRESS GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. OVER ONE-HALF BILLION OF OUR BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE REQUEST IS FOR PROGRAMS AIMED AT EXPANDING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, IMPROVING NUTRITION AND FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS A PRECARIOUS BALANCE BETWEEN WORLDWIDE FOOD SUPPLY AND DEMAND. ALTHOUGH GRAIN PRODUCTION HAS IMPROVED IN RECENT YEARS, AND APPROXIMATELY 500 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD ARE MALNOURISHED, THE LONGER-TERM FOOD OUTLOOK FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS GRIM.

TO MEET PROJECTED POPULATION GROWTH AND TO IMPROVE NUTRITION WILL REQUIRE A DOUBLING OF FOOD PRODUCTION BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY, A GOAL WHICH CHALLENGES THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RICH AND POOR ALIKE.

18. A CRITICAL RELATIONSHIP EXISTS BETWEEN FOOD NEEDS

AND POPULATION GROWTH. IN MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES RAPID POPULATION GROWTH IS OFFSETTING GAINS IN PRODUCTION AND THE EXPANSION IN SOCIAL SERVICES. WE ARE REQUESTING DOLS 167 MILLION FOR OUR PROGRAM IN POPULATION PLANNING, THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD. THIS PROGRAM PROVIDES BASIC FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES AND INFORMATION, RESEARCH IN FERTILITY CONTROL TECHNIQUES AND TRAINING PROGRAMS IN OVER 100 COUNTRIES. SIGNIFICANT

HEALTH AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE ALSO GEARED TO THE
BASIC NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRY CITIZENS.

19. INCREASED INTERNATIONAL RESOURCE TRANSFERS, WHILE
A SUBSTANTIAL AND NECESSARY CONDITION FOR SUCCESS, ARE
CLEARLY NOT SUFFICIENT. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
THEMSELVES WILL HAVE TO MOBILIZE MOST OF THE RESOURCES
NEEDED, AND TO UNDERTAKE MAJOR POLICY REFORMS AND
INSTITUTIONAL AND MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT, IN ORDER TO
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UTILIZE THESE RESOURCES EFFECTIVELY. WE WILL PRESS FOR
AND SUPPORT BROADLY BASED, PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGIES, AIMED AT INVOLVING THE POOREST, MALE AND
FEMALE ALIKE, IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS.

20. MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

21. OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY WITH UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP HAS CONSTRUCTED
GLOBAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY
WITH THE LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEVELOPING NATIONS. THIS FRAMEWORK HAS CONTRIBUTED
TO THE ECONOMIC GROWTH ACHIEVED BY A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING
NATIONS DURING THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY.

22. THE CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THIS FRAMEWORK IS THE
INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. THEY EMBODY THE
COMMITMENT BY RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES ALIKE TO GIVE
FIRST PRIORITY TO THE TASK OF DEVELOPMENT AND TO LEAVE

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE. IN AN AGE CHARACTERIZED

BY SHARP AND EMERGING IDEOLOGICAL SCHISMS, THE MULTI-

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LATERAL BANKS STAND OUT AS INSTITUTIONS WHERE A

CONSENSUS EXISTS ON BOTH THE ENDS THE INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNITY SHOULD STRIVE FOR AND THE MEANS TOWARD THOSE

ENDS.

23. THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS PRACTICE

A DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHY VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL WITH OUR

OWN AND DESERVING OUR SUPPORT. THEIR BASIC APPROACH IS

TO REINFORCE THE EXISTING LIBERAL STRUCTURE OF THE

WORLD ECONOMY BY EMPHASIZING DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

THAT PROMOTE THE FREE FLOW OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

WE FULLY SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, WHICH DOVETAILS NICELY

WITH OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. FURTHER-

MORE, WITH THEIR BROADLY-BASED MEMBERSHIP THESE FINANCIAL

INSTITUTIONS ARE EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE IN ENCOURAGING

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PURSUE RATIONAL ECONOMIC

POLICIES.

24. THE UNITED STATES HAS A SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT

IN THESE INSTITUTIONS. OUR LEADERSHIP HELPED CREATE

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THEM. AND THROUGH OUR LEADERSHIP OTHER DONORS, INCLUDING

SOME OF THE NEWLY OIL-RICH COUNTRIES, HAVE INCREASED
THEIR PARTICIPATION, THUS LOWERING THE RELATIVE BURDEN
ON THE US.

25. AT THE CENTER OF THE IFIS IS THE WORLD BANK GROUP.
ITS THREE INSTITUTIONS ACCOUNT FOR BY FAR THE LARGEST
PART OF OUR APPROPRIATION REQUESTS THIS YEAR.

-- THE WORLD BANK ITSELF IS THE ACKNOWLEDGED LEADER
IN GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND REFLECTS A
BROADLY-BASED CONSENSUS TOWARD DEVELOPMENT. CONTINUED
US SUPPORT AND LEADERSHIP IS NECESSARY IF THE BANK IS
TO SUSTAIN THIS ROLE.

-- THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION IS THE
SOFT LOAN WINDOW OF THE WORLD BANK. IT FOCUSES ON
THE POOREST COUNTRIES, PRIMARILY IN AFRICA AND SOUTH
ASIA. OUR APPROPRIATION REQUEST FOR IDA IS UNUSUALLY
LARGE THIS YEAR. TO A DEGREE THIS REFLECTS BOTH
INFLATION AND THE DELAYED AND LENGTHENED PATTERN OF US
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOURTH REPLENISHMENT. MOST
IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, IT REFLECTS THE GROWING CONSENSUS
OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DONOR COUNTRIES, WHICH THE
ADMINISTRATION FULLY SHARES, THAT MORE RESOURCES MUST
BE COMMITTED TO THE TASK OF DEVELOPMENT IF OUR HOPES
FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ARE TO BE SUSTAINED.

-- FOR THE THIRD MEMBER OF THE GROUP, THE INTERNATIONAL

FINANCE CORPORATION, THIS IS THE FIRST REPLENISHMENT
SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT OVER 20 YEARS AGO. GIVEN THE
CATALYTIC ROLE THE IFC PLAYS IN PROMOTING THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, THIS REPLENISHMENT TOO
DESERVES OUR FULL SUPPORT.

26. THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS ALSO PLAY A VITAL
ROLE IN THE NETWORK OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION. THE
INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK HAS BECOME THE MAIN
CHANNEL FOR US SUPPORT OF DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA
AND THE CARIBBEAN. WE HAVE STRONG LINKS TO LATIN
AMERICA IN MANY AREAS AND OUR SUPPORT FOR THE IDB

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REPRESENTS A CONCRETE EXPRESSION OF OUR DESIRE TO
DEEPEN AND STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH THIS AREA.

27. THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS AT THE FOREFRONT
OF MULTILATERAL EFFORTS TO BUILD A FOUNDATION OF GROWTH
AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA. OUR SUPPORT, WHICH MANIFESTS
OUR CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE REGION, IS VITAL TO THAT
TASK.

28. IN AFRICA, THE DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS ARE
MONUMENTAL. OUR RECENT ENTRANCE INTO THE AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT FUND ENABLES US TO JOIN OTHER DONORS IN A
COOPERATIVE EFFORT WITH THE AFRICANS.

29. IN ADDITION TO THE MULTILATERAL BANKS, UN VOLUNTARY
FUNDS HAVE THEIR OWN UNIQUE ROLE TO PLAY IN MEETING

DEVELOPMENTAL AND HUMANITARIAN NEEDS. THESE FUNDS
PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND PRE-INVESTMENT STUDIES
(UNDP), ASSIST CHILDREN (UNICEF), AND ADDRESS SPECIALIZED
DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS IN OTHER IMPORTANT FIELDS
SUCH AS POPULATION, FOOD, AND THE ENVIRONMENT. THE
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EXTENSIVE SCOPE AND MORE UNIVERSAL APPROACH OF THESE
PROGRAMS COMPLEMENT THE MORE HIGHLY-FOCUSSED US AID
BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. MOREOVER, UN TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE GOES TO COUNTRIES WHERE BILATERAL US PROGRAMS
MAY NOT BE WANTED, OR WHERE THE US HAS CHOSEN NOT TO
PROVIDE AID BILATERALLY. UNDP AND THE UN SPECIALIZED
AGENCIES WORK IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE MULTILATERAL
BANKS. IT IS THUS IMPORTANT THAT FUNDING FOR THE UN
VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS BE INCREASED WITH THE INCREASED
FUNDING FOR MULTILATERAL BANKS.

30. FOOD AID.

30A. I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FOOTNOTE ABOUT THE
ROLE OF FOOD AID IN OUR OVERALL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
STRATEGY, SINCE IT WILL PLAY AN ESSENTIAL ROLE OF ITS
OWN WHICH WILL BE SHAPED TO COMPLEMENT THE PROGRAMS
I HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED IN GREATER DEPTH. OUR FOOD
AID PROGRAMS WILL BE INCREASINGLY DESIGNED, NOT ONLY
TO RELIEVE HUNGER AND TO OFFSET NATURAL CATASTROPHIES,
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BUT ALSO TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF NUTRITION FOR THE
VERY POOR, AND TO ENCOURAGE POOR, FOOD-DEFICIT NATIONS
TO INCREASE THEIR OWN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. WE
WILL SEEK TO CONDUCT THESE FOOD AID PROGRAMS TO SUPPORT
OUR BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORTING
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND WE WILL BE RECEPTIVE
TO CONGRESSIONAL VIEWS HOW TO IMPROVE THE USE OF
THIS FORM OF ASSISTANCE TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTAL AND
HUMANITARIAN GOALS.

31. SPECIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL

32. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH
TO THE SPECIAL LEGISLATION WE WILL SOON BE SUBMITTING
TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR PORTUGAL.

33. AFTER A PERIOD OF SEVERE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
DISLOCATION THE PORTUGUESE ECONOMY IS IN SERIOUS
DIFFICULTY. THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT HAS OUTLINED
A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY. HOWEVER,
SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT THIS

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PROGRAM WITHOUT ENDANGERING NEWLY-ESTABLISHED DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS.

34. WE RECENTLY NEGOTIATED A DOLS 300 MILLION SHORT-TERM
CREDIT FROM THE EXCHANGE STABILIZATION FUND. HOWEVER,

SHORT-TERM PIECEMEAL BILATERAL EFFORTS IN THIS INSTANCE
ARE INADEQUATE TO THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS. CONSEQUENTLY,
WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A COOPERATIVE MULTI-
LATERAL EFFORT TO ADDRESS THE MOST URGENT NEEDS IN
PORTUGAL. WE WILL SOON BE ASKING CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE
FUNDS FOR US PARTICIPATION IN A PROGRAM OF MULTILATERAL
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE. WE BELIEVE OUR CONTINUED
SUPPORT IS CRUCIAL TO PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC RECOVERY
AND THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF PORTUGUESE SOCIETY.

35. PORTUGUESE REPRESENTS A SPECIAL CASE WHERE THE
EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM NEED TO BE SUPPLEMENTED
BY A SPECIAL PROGRAM.

36. SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE AND MIDDLE EAST
SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FUND
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37. SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FUNDS OF DOLS 1,892
MILLION ARE PROPOSED FOR PROGRAMS IN COUNTRIES
EXPERIENCING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRESSES AFFECTING
US SECURITY INTERESTS AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF STABILITY
AND PEACE. THE MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FUND
OF DOLS 25 MILLION WILL FACILITATE US PEACE EFFORTS
BY PERMITTING PROMPT US RESPONSES TO SPECIAL NEEDS.

37. MIDDLE EAST PROGRAMS. THE PROGRAM PROPOSED
FOR FY 1978 MIDDLE EAST SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE,
ADMINISTERED BY A.I.D., CALLS FOR NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY

OF DOLS 1,742 MILLION, WHICH IS DOLS 60 MILLION LESS
THAN WAS REQUESTED FOR FY 1977.

38. BY FAR THE LARGEST SHARE OF THESE FUNDS SUPPORTS
OUR CONTINUING MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS, WITH MAJOR
PROGRAMS PROPOSED FOR ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA.
FUNDING FOR THESE FOUR COUNTRY PROGRAMS AMOUNTS TO
DOLS 1,718 MILLION. OTHER PROGRAMS DIRECTLY SUPPORTIVE
OF OUR PEACE EFFORTS ARE THE SINAI SUPPORT MISSION,
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FOR WHICH DOLS 12.2 MILLION IN SECURITY SUPPORTING
ASSISTANCE IS PROPOSED, AND THE MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL
REQUIREMENTS FUND, PROGRAMMED AT DOLS 25 MILLION.

39. BEFORE I LEFT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST ON FEBRUARY 14,
I SAID THAT 1977 IS A CRITICAL YEAR FOR PROGRESS TOWARD
PEACE IN THAT TROUBLED REGION. AFTER MY TRIP I REPEAT
THAT STATEMENT WITH RENEWED CONVICTION. WITH THE END
OF THE ACTIVE CONFLICT IN LEBANON, ATTENTION HAS AGAIN
TURNED TO THE ISSUE OF A REGIONAL SETTLEMENT. THE
GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED, WITH THEIR MODERATE LEADERSHIP,
HAVE EXPRESSED A DETERMINATION TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS
LOOKING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT,
ALTHOUGH IT WILL BE HAVING ELECTIONS MAY 17, HAS
SIMILARLY TAKEN A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS.

40. OUR AID PROGRAM FOR THE MIDDLE EAST IS AN IMPORTANT
ELEMENT IN OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATIONS

AND ULTIMATELY TO A SETTLEMENT. IT PROVIDES THE SUPPORT
AND ENCOURAGEMENT NEEDED BY THE MODERATE ARAB LEADERSHIP
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TO PERSEVERE IN MAKING THE DIFFICULT CHOICES INVOLVED
IN BREAKING OUT FROM THE QUARTER-CENTURY CYCLE OF
HOSTILITIES TO ACCEPTANCE OF PEACE WITH ISRAEL. IT
PROVIDES TO ISRAEL THE CONFIDENCE IN ITS OWN STRENGTH
AND IN OUR RELIABILITY THAT WILL BE NECESSARY IF THE
ISRAELIS ARE TO MAKE THE TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS REQUIRED
BY A SETTLEMENT. TO AVOID CREATING ANY DOUBT IN ISRAEL
ABOUT OUR RELIABILITY, TO MAINTAIN THE SAME DEGREE OF
ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE ARABS, AND TO MEET REAL HUMAN
NEEDS IN THE NATIONS IN THE AREA WE ARE PROPOSING THIS
YEAR THE SAME OVERALL SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEVELS WE
PROPOSED FOR FY 1977.

41. THE NEEDS OF EACH OF THE COUNTRIES REMAIN GREAT.
THE ISRAELI ECONOMY CONTINUES TO BE BURDENED WITH
EXTRAORDINARY DEFENSE COSTS, AND THE ESSENTIAL NEEDS
OF THE POPULACE CANNOT BE MET WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL US
ASSISTANCE. EGYPT HAS SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES
WHICH IT MUST DEAL WITH GREAT SENSITIVITY AS ITS

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EXPERIENCE WITH THE RECENT RIOTS WOULD INDICATE. EGYPT

ALSO MUST IMPROVE ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PERFORMANCE
IF IT IS TO SATISFY THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF ITS
EXPANDING POPULATION.

42. JORDAN HAS A LIMITED RESOURCE BASE, AND HAS
EXPERIENCED ANOTHER POOR WHEAT HARVEST WHICH HAS ADDED
TO INFLATIONARY PRESSURES. THE COUNTRY REMAINS HEAVILY
DEPENDENT ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM MANY DONORS,
INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. SYRIA, TOO, HAS EXPERIENCED
INFLATIONARY PRESSURES AND A SLACKENING OF ECONOMIC
GROWTH OVER THE PAST YEAR. OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS
DIRECTLY SIGNIFICANT TO THE SYRIAN ECONOMY AS WELL AS
A TANGIBLE EXPRESSION OF OUR RECOGNITION OF THE KEY
SYRIAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OUR DESIRE TO FURTHER
OUR NEW COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THAT COUNTRY.

43. THE FUNDS FOR THE SINAI SUPPORT MISSION WILL
CONTINUE FOR AN ADDITIONAL YEAR THE PRESENCE OF AN
AMERICAN CIVILIAN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IN THE SINAI
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IS A CRUCIAL LINK IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE
STRUCTURE. THE MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FUND,
ASIDE FROM FINANCING THE WORK OF US PRIVATE VOLUNTARY
ORGANIZATIONS WORKING ON THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN
AND IN THE GAZA, WILL PROVIDE THE FLEXIBILITY TO ENABLE
US TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO VITAL UNPROGRAMMED NEEDS IN
THE MIDDLE EAST, PARTICULARLY THOSE NEEDS RELATED TO

THE PEACE PROCESS.

44. SOUTHERN AFRICA PROGRAMS. (AF AND AFR HAVE NOT YET CONCLUDED HOW THEY WILL APPLY THE DOLS 135 MILLION).

45. JAMAICA. (A PARAGRAPH IS BEING CONSIDERED BY LA/CAR. IT MAY BE LEFT TO THE Q'S AND A'S).

45. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. SECURITY ASSISTANCE IS WIDELY THOUGHT OF AS THE PRACTICE OF SELLING OR GIVING AWAY LETHAL WEAPONS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES. WE DO SUPPLY MILITARY EQUIPMENT ABROAD THROUGH THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR APPROVED PURPOSES OF SELF DEFENSE. BUT OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS COMPRISE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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A FULL RANGE OF SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS AND ALLIES AROUND THE WORLD. THESE INCLUDE THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING WE MAKE AVAILABLE TO FOREIGN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE AREAS OF MANAGEMENT AND COMMAND SYSTEMS, THE PROVISION OF CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT AND OTHER DEFENSE SERVICES AT THE REQUEST AND AT THE EXPENSE OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS THE SUPPLY OF SPARE PARTS AND SUPPORT EQUIPMENT TO COUNTRIES WHICH RELY ON US WEAPONS FOR THEIR SECURITY.

46. IN THIS BROAD SENSE, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT SECURITY ASSISTANCE IS A NECESSARY ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD, NO MAJOR NATION WHICH ASPIRES TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN FURTHERING

THE CAUSE OF PEACE CAN IGNORE THE REQUESTS OF FRIENDS
AND ALLIES FOR ASSISTANCE IN MEETING LEGITIMATE
SECURITY NEEDS. PRESIDENT CARTER'S BUDGET PROPOSALS
ARE DESIGNED TO PROVIDE THE ADMINISTRATION THE MEANS TO
REASSURE OUR FRIENDS OF THE CONSTANCY OF OUR COMMITMENT.

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47. THE BUDGET PROPOSAL FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE
WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS
IS BASED, TO A LARGE EXTENT, AS IT NECESSARILY MUST BE,
UPON THE MATERIALS PREPARED BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION.
WE HAVE CAREFULLY REVIEWED THE JANUARY BUDGET PROPOSALS,
BUT IT WAS IMMEDIATELY EVIDENT THAT WE COULD NOT GO BACK
TO THE BEGINNING TO REFASHION A MILITARY ASSISTANCE BUDGET
TO ACCORD WITH POLICIES WHICH THEMSELVES MUST DEPEND
ON THE OUTCOME OF BASIC POLICY STUDIES NOW UNDER
WAY. THE PRESIDENT HAS, HOWEVER, APPROVED SOME
REDUCTIONS IN THE TOTAL REQUESTS FOR THE GRANT OF
MILITARY MATERIAL UNDER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM,
AND THE FINANCING OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENT PURCHASES UNDER
THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM.

48. THERE IS VALUE IN CONTINUITY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT
ABRUPT ACTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES CAN DISRUPT ONGOING
PLANS AND PROGRAMS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES; WE HAVE NO
INTENTION OF UNDERCUTTING OUR ALLIES OR DENYING OUR
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FRIENDS ACCESS TO THE MEANS ESSENTIAL TO THE PRESERVATION
OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY.

49. WE ARE ALSO DETERMINED THAT THE NEW POLICIES
WHICH WE ARE FASHIONING WILL DEVELOP THROUGH DELIBERATE
CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVE MEANS TOWARDS OUR GOALS.
AND THERE WILL BE FULL CONSULTATION WITH THE CONGRESS,
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WITH THE FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS
AFFECTED. THIS PROCESS WILL EXTEND OVER TIME. OUR GOALS
ARE GREATER COHERENCE AND RESTRAINT IN WORLD ARMS
EXPORTS. IT IS NOT AN EASY TASK TO FIGURE OUT THE
BEST WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS, BUT WE HAVE
EMBARKED UPON OUR POLICY REVIEW WITH ENERGY AND
DETERMINATION. WE HAVE A COMMITMENT TO SOLVING THESE
PROBLEMS.

50. DETAILS OF THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE BUDGET PROPOSALS
PREPARED WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WILL BE PROVIDED
TO THE CONGRESS SHORTLY. I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS
COMMITTEE HAS SCHEDULED ITS REVIEW OF THESE PROGRAMS

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IN THE MIDDLE OF NEXT MONTH, WHEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WILL BE PLEASED TO JOIN WITH DEFENSE IN SUPPLYING ANY
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR DATA NEEDED, OR TESTIFYING
BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE AS MAY BE DESIRED.

51. CONCLUSION

52. IN CLOSING, PERMIT ME TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT

EACH OF THE COMPONENTS OF OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

PROGRAM IS DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO A DIFFERENT SET OF

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES. THE OVERLAPS BETWEEN THE

PROGRAMS ARE FEW AND THE TRADE-OFFS, IN MY VIEW, ARE

CONSEQUENTLY QUITE LIMITED. REDUCTIONS WILL BE AT

THE EXPENSE OF OBJECTIVES. THE TOTAL OF OUR DEVELOPMENT

ASSISTANCE IS THE FINAL MEASURE OF OUR COMMITMENT. I

KNOW THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL CONDUCT A SEARCHING

EXAMINATION INTO EACH PROGRAM. I URGE YOU, AT THE

SAME TIME, TO VIEW THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

IN ITS ENTIRETY. WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PRESENT A COHERENT,

INTELLECTUALLY DEFENSIBLE PACKAGE OF BUDGET REQUESTS

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WHICH WILL BEST SERVE THE BROAD SWEEP OF OUR NATIONAL

INTERESTS. I THANK YOU FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO GO OVER

THE JUSTIFICATION WITH YOU, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO

RECEIVING THE BENEFIT OF YOUR VIEWS.

END TEXT

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